of childhood, but in later life. If a woman is re- [illegible]
turned for some reason to her parental home, it is as [illegible]
much a reflection on her brothers as on herself. [illegible]

In all of the situations outlined thus far there [illegible]
has been no question of the veil, except for a paternal [illegible]
uncle and a husband of a paternal aunt who are not per- 602
mitted to associate freely with all of the women of the [illegible]
house unless they happen to be close friends of the mother. The veil enters in between couples of marriageable age, and the striking difference between a married man and a bachelor is encountered for the first time. When a young man reaches what is considered adulthood, about fifteen or sixteen years, women of other houses begin to conceal their faces from him. If, for example, he visited the house of his father's brother, the latter's wife might appear unveiled to him, but the adult, unmarried daughters of the house would be at least shy and retiring in his presence, usually fleeing at his approach (not, however, losing the opportunity to observe the potential bridegroom from hiding). When he is married, the whole situation changes and he is free to mingle with them unveiled, even alone together in a room. There are, of course, none of 602
these restrictions among male cousins and among female cousins. Two people who are cousins greet each other by shaking hands or kissing each other on the cheek. It is said that a young man could greet the daughter of his paternal uncle by kissing her on the arm or shoulder, but [602]

either on the street. Women of the upper classes are much more restricted. If unmarried adults, they cannot ordinarily visit a strange house, and most of their friends are thus derived from among their female relatives. It has been seen that the males are welcome confidants of visiting women. When married, they are able to accompany their husbands to allied houses, the latter going to the *diwakhana* with the men while the women gather in one of the rooms. Women of lower station enjoy much greater freedom, talking with their neighbors out of doors and making use of the women's mosque. After reaching a marriageable age, there is no question of public friendship between boys and girls. If a youth wishes to speak to some maiden, the affair must take place with the greatest secrecy and there are only rare opportunities for such exchanges. 571 562 576 [587] [584] [582]

Turning now to the course of an individual of Rowanduz through life, a person belonging to a family of moderate wealth, birth may be considered first. When a pregnant woman nears the moment of her delivery, a number of women, usually her relatives and friends, attend her in one of the rooms of her husband's house. The expectant father, other male relatives and friends, are not allowed to enter the place of delivery, but wait in the *diwakhana* or guest-room. A woman who can read from the Quran is called, and when she enters all of the attendants rise. She is seated in a corner of the room and recites in a loud voice while the labor progresses. If such a reader is not available, a copy of the Quran is placed beside the woman in labor. 844 [778]

With the introduction of monogamous marriage and divorce that not only gets rid of the wife, but also dissolves the children's home, a phenomenon hitherto unknown will arise in Kurdistan and other Islamic areas that are copying our pattern of culture, the solitary mother: on the one hand the solitary divorced mother, and on the other, the result of women's entry into the labour market, the solitary unmarried mother. 593 178

Although it has been maintained from several quarters[illegible] that the veil and seclusion, woman's withdrawn social position, were originally foreign to the Arabs and to Muhammad, and were first adopted by Islam when the Arabs came into contact with the Greek-Hellenic, Byzantine culture, the fact remains that this veiled status obtained religious sanction from Sura 24, verse 31 of the Coran. Consequently, the veil and seclusion are as much a religious as a secular matter. The law of Islam *šarīʿa*, goes far deeper than does Roman law. The ordinances of the Coran, the whole *fiqh* system, comprises every detail of existence, and constitutes a practical guide, a pattern of behaviour[illegible]. The restrictions resulting therefrom were maintained by Kurdish women in Iraq with the greatest seriousness, respect and care in all four feminine milieux. 293 [779] 788 562

In general, attention has been paid to the fact that women in Muslim homes where seclusion was maintained to a greater or lesser degree, were confined to certain parts of the house. There is therefore reason to point out that the man may equally well be said to be excluded from the women's apartments of all the other homes he may visit. In Kurdish villages only the guest room, a part of the squire's house, was open to him. In towns he was permitted to enter the guest room (without a glance at the courtyard) and to leave the house again just as discreetly. The core of the home was the forbidden area; the women there were the people he was not allowed to see. From the time a boy passed a certain age, a wall was suddenly raised between him and the women's world; he was shut out and referred to the society of other men and the streets. The women belonging to his own home formed an exception. 562 [882]

The banks, post offices and public offices I visited were as gloomy and cheerless as barracks. A chair at a street corner or a tea house bench was the womanless world to which a male was relegated on reaching manhood. It seemed to me that the men in their male world did not thrive as much as did the women and children in their half of society. Somehow or other the women seemed to have discovered a more lively and friendly social convention between themselves than had the men, or, for that matter, than we have in the West. Under cover of the veil women were able to move about in the men's world. Outside the home their world was not devoid of men to the same extent that the men's world was devoid of women. Even though women were veiled in the street they were able to see. In many cases they were also able to talk, trade and bargain with men in the sūq, in banks and in post offices. They could see whom they were addressing; men saw only a black veil. 562 591

In view of the great part that conformance with the rules of Islam played in the life of Kurdish women, her positive attitude to the five pillars of Islam (see chapter V), any change in her life pattern in this quarter would involve a complete transformation. It is not surprising that the altered life of women in Turkey has had to proceed hand in hand with a sustained offensive on all things Arab and 178 771 562